1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

572 561 their names desire to become "friends," they enter the creek, which is about a meter in depth, stand back to back, dive and simultaneously swim away in opposite directions, rise to the surface, and turn about so as to face each other. The relationship thus formed is taken less seriously than in the preceding cases, but may be inherited.

608 627 Especially at secret nocturnal meetings during the pepyé phase of initiation the first commandant of the novices explains the twofold obligations of "friendship," viz., mutual respect and solidarity. Respect is manifested in various ways. Speaking of or to one another, friends never use personal names, invariably substituting the terms hąpín and pinčwę'i without the pronominal prefix, and in the second case mostly resorting to teknonymous paraphrasing. If two "friends" meet on a narrow trail, neither yields precedence, *both* turning aside to the right or the left until past each other. A hąpín and his pinčwę'i must neither marry nor philander; indeed, in conversation they must avoid erotic references, including mention of anything relating to their own sex experiences. Even friends of the same sex converse seriously, neither laughing at the other or mocking him. If a dispute is unavoidable, it must not be carried on in the presence of others. In case of a definite breach the chief preferably appoints as arbiter one who is a hąpín to both parties; and similarly, in a conjugal quarrel he appoints the hąpín of the husband or the wife to make peace, the spouses being under obligation to heed this umpire's admonitions.

Too much mutual familiarity is forbidden to "friends." When conversing they do not look at each other, but stand abreast, each gazing straight ahead. At the Mummers' entrance into the village, girls customarily tie badges to the horns of the paraders, thereby becoming their respective "mothers"; but a masquerader mutely declines this favor by a movement of his shoulders if he recognizes the girl as his pinčwę'i.

No hąpín may beg of another. It was sometimes droll to watch Čątú, one of the worst mendicants in the village, inwardly struggling to restrain himself from begging of me. If I absolutely refused to take a hint, he would wait for a moment when we were alone, then with timid glances round about he would say in a subdued [577] voice, "hąpín, you know... I am not allowed to say anything... but..." Only when pressed would he express his wishes in plain terms.

The second obligatory attitude, that of solidarity, sometimes assumes grotesque forms. Complementary to the prohibition of mutual mendicancy is the duty to look out for another hąpín's needs and to supply them by spontaneous presents. They also make common cause in danger and in dispute. Odd is the official appeal for aid in a difficulty. The suppliant waits for an assembly in the plaza, then steps in front of his friend, but with his back toward him, publicly explains his plight, and then goes home. The hąpín is then under obligation to do what he can in his friend's behalf.

123 608 But in case of danger a hąpín ought to leap into the breach spontaneously. During my periodic palavers with whisky dealers and other such bearers of culture Čątú quite unobtrusively soon takes up a position nearby, leaning on his enormous sword club, and watches the course of events. Sometimes he brings along several members of his age class. Subsequently he is likely to approach and apologize, "Look, hąpín, I know you told us not to interfere, but he might have become impudent." And at that Čątú is by no means a teetotaler!

In case of an accident it is a meritorious act for a friend to prove his loyalty by voluntarily undergoing the same pain. Once I slightly injured my arm; as soon as

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

(p. 179). A Neobrazilian is naturally struck by the Timbira's lack of that jealousy so excessively developed in his own society and practically the basis of sex life there. From this difference he draws conclusions for the Indians that would hold for himself.

CHASTITY

Yet the Rąmkō'kamekra women unquestionably have an ideal of conjugal fidelity; without it, indeed, the grass widow's seclusion and mourning would be inconceivable, nor would adultery figure as a ground for divorce. Couples who have grown old together without ever separating are held up as paragons for the younger generation, and there is a fair number of such models in the tribe. The failure of many to attain the ideal does not disprove its existence. What characterizes Timbira in contrast to Neobrazilian notions of matrimony is the recognition of cases in which extramarital intercourse is not merely allowed but reckoned laudable and honorific, for example the exchange of wives by two kwṛ'nõ or the role of the two precentresses in peacemaking. Further, since the child's welfare is a primary consideration, a mother must confess extramarital relations during the period of pregnancy in order that the adulterer may be secluded synchronously with the husband, both being thereby publicly acknowledged as fathers. This custom presupposes the husband's ability to bear the avowal with equanimity—an idea utterly opposed to Neobrazilian sentiment.

Finally such an attitude is possible only among such a people as the Rąmkō'kamekra, where the individual seems to exist mainly in order to function in a dozen distinct units in accordance with traditional prescriptions, where the supreme social commandment is at any cost to avoid internal dissension. The Timbira define "good" and "bad" men accordingly. He is "bad" who quarrels with tribesmen, insists on personal privileges, will not yield his claims—in short, acts like a kupẽ (Neobrazilian). A "good" man is one who, irrespective of the obvious justice of his case, meets another halfway, not from fear, but in order to avoid dispute; *that* is acting "like us Indians." Tompey (to agree) is the highest social virtue. Further, the ceremonial from which no person can absent himself in many ways forces disputants into coöperative activities.

Mere suspicion is not held adequate to raise the charge of adultery, which can be established only by an eyewitness. Whenever the subject is broached, the first question asked is, "Have you seen it yourself?" The general aversion to disputes discourages informants: anyone who catches someone else's spouse *in flagrante delicto* maintains a discreet silence. Moreover, if the affair comes under discussion, this is restricted to the spouses and their kin; the fellow culprit is never, so far as I know, summoned for a reckoning.

I took cognizance of a fair number of occurrences of adultery. One day Wakái, a hąpín of mine, had an irrefutable proof of his wife Kañõ's infidelity. Taking his belongings, he left the house, halted in the space in front of it, and declared why he was acting thus. He spoke just loud enough to be heard by the neighbors, but with calm moderation. Kañõ was genuinely grieved over this consequence of her intrigue. No sooner had her husband departed than she was never seen outside her dwelling. Her relatives, the man's age class, and sundry others—I myself was asked to collaborate as Wakái's hąpín—all exerted themselves to patch up the difficulty and a week later the two were peaceably reunited.

In another case, a woman named Pyẽkára was a notorious adultress, but her husband, otherwise no weakling, ignored her waywardness because he was afraid of otherwise being separated from his dearly beloved child.

Iz Nimuendaju E-6 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

among his own people. This man assigned a corner of his house as our lodging, had his wife roast some gourds, and even managed to secure a bit of meat for us. During the night I was unable to sleep a wink, for Kopkré harangued the Apą'nyekra seated around him literally from 7 P.M. until 4 A.M. Not at that time understanding a word of Timbira speech, I asked him what he had told our hosts; he replied that he had admonished them to live peaceably and morally. It is inexplicable whence he derived the substance of his Marathon speeches, for the replies of the Apą'nyekra were far briefer; however, at least some of them listened to the very end.

In 1930 the Rąmkõ'kamekra were struck with the disconcerting lack of arara feathers required for the ketúaye initiation. Accordingly, they once more—with all due precautions—sent an embassy to the Apą'nyekra, who were somewhat better off in this respect, in order to get arara feathers in exchange for clay tobacco pipes of Neobrazilian type which had been manufactured by old Kukrãčą'.

In 1933 a Krahõ' delegation accompanied by one Kénkateye visited us at Ponto. The Krahõ' have no honorary chief there, but being on close terms of friendship with the Apą'nyekra they proceeded to the house of the above-mentioned woman married to a member of this tribe. At sunset, as the councilors were assembling in the plaza, the head chief Ropką' rose and for a while sang with outstretched arms. Then he leaned on his staffclub, rocking his body to and fro, and with his powerful voice shouted toward the house harboring the newcomers, "You poor fellows! I pity you! Don't you know how malevolent our tribe is! Truly you are men of courage to have ventured here. Now come to the plaza and tell us what you are here for! Don't linger long! Hurry, so that we may find out!" Thereupon the three guests paid their respects to the chiefs and sat down, saying they had come for a visit. Actually, their object was apparently to induce me to return to the Krahõ'. Then Ropką' sent them to his dwelling to eat. These visitors were well treated and stayed over a week. Whatever house they entered, they were entertained with food, and wantons were supplied to sleep with them.

The reception of a Guajajára embassy has already been described on page 46 f.

The Eastern Timbira, as indicated by my experiences among the Apą'nyekra, are not particularly hospitable to civilized visitors. It is true that no tribe will deny a transient a night's lodging. Usually one of the chiefs, or often enough some other resident, will allot the traveler a place in his wife's or mother's dwelling, except possibly among the Apą'nyekra, where I noticed a dilapidated shed for strangers. However, food is provided only for an old acquaintance who has extended hospitality to the Indians; whether other strangers go hungry, is nobody's concern. If the traveler makes an impression of wealth, he is brought some trifling "gift"—a mere overture for unremitting mendicancy. Chiefs, however, are not supposed to beg in the way of the Apą'nyekra chief described above. I have never heard of a guest being robbed by his immediate hosts, but he has to be aware of inquisitive visitors from other households. I can certainly not vouch with the same enthusiasm as Snethlage for the honesty and trustworthiness of the Rąmkõ'kamekra.[355]

Law

Property.—Contrary to Apinayé custom,[356] among the Eastern Timbira, the land belongs to the tribe, not to the village community. This difference probably results from the far lesser stability of the Eastern Timbira communities. A few years before my visit to the Pąkõbye the aldea of Morro do Chapeu had split into two settlements, São Felix and Recurso, but the land remained undivided; and similar developments occurred among the Krahõ'.

[355] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 115; Reise, 469. [356] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 11.